

Africa

May, 1959
Volume 4, Number 5

SPECIAL REPORT



Flying Sorcerer in
Les Ballets Africains
See Page 2

Ballets Africains Hailed in U.S.



Washingtonians crowd around performers at African-American Institute reception in International Student House.



Miss Diane Dambourya does ballet step, African style.



Ugandan student Jeanette Kagere (right) enjoys laugh with dancer Marouba Camara at institute reception.

THE YOUTHFUL troupers of "Les Ballets Africains" headed home for Guinea this month after a 16 week North American tour that drew critics' plaudits from Montreal to Chicago.

Parties by the African-American Institute and the Ghana and French Embassies marked the troupe's final week in Washington, D. C., ending a tour which began Feb. 2 in Philadelphia and subsequently took the group to Boston, New York, Montreal, Toronto, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and Pittsburgh.

The dancers now plan to disperse to their homes for a few months rest, and enjoyment of the Hi-Fi sets, clothes and other accoutrements acquired during their stay. A veteran U.S. showman traveling with the group described their reception here as remarkable, and said Guinea, world's youngest nation, could have found no better group of cultural ambassadors—even though parts of their performance proved a bit too natural for New York and Chicago censors.

A "Washington Post" critic described the show as a "happy blend of authenticity and inspired staging" which "gets down to some pretty brass tacks." The "Star" commented that the waist-up nudity wasn't really very noticeable, because most eyes stayed glued on a sensational team of fire-eaters.

As the final curtain rang down, it was generally agreed that founder-director Keita Fodeba, now Guinea's Minister of the Interior, had skillfully packaged one of the best folk dance presentations to appear on the American stage in some time, and negotiations reportedly were underway for a repeat tour in 1968.

U.S. Opens 40th Post In Africa

THE UNITED STATES opened two new Consulates this month, at Freetown, Sierra Leone and at Lome, Togo. These additions bring the total number of U.S. diplomatic and consular posts in Africa to 40, including 10 Embassies, 14 Consulates General, 14 Consulates and 2 independent U.S. Information Service offices. Six of these offices were opened during the past 5 months, but American official representation in Africa dates back some 130 years to 1825, when the Sultan in Tangier gave the United States a building which is still occupied by the American Consulate General and has been owned longer than any other U.S. property abroad.

American interests and operations in Africa were outlined in a speech May 15 by James K. Penfield, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, before the Institute on African Affairs at Mundelein College in Chicago.

According to Mr. Penfield, United States technical and economic aid, greatest in the fields of agriculture and education, is currently provided to 13 African countries. American economic assistance under the Mutual Security Act has risen from less than \$62 million in fiscal year 1958 to a planned \$88.3 million for the coming 1960 fiscal year. In addition, the new Development Loan Fund has already approved loans to Liberia, Nigeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Somalia and has others pending. A substantial loan to Liberia was recently approved by the Export-Import Bank which has been lending up to \$15 million a year in Africa. The U.S. Technical Cooperation Program is doubling its aid level of two years ago in both dollars and personnel. Over \$20 million is being budgeted for the coming fiscal year and about 650 American technicians

(Continued on page 11)

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Crowds cheer the two Premiers as Dr. Nkrumah arrives in Conakry.

Nkrumah, Toure Propose Wider Union

A 21-GUN SALUTE boomed across Conakry harbor last month as the motor vessel "Clivia," bearing Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana, edged up to the quay. As Dr. Nkrumah stepped from the gangway, the first outside Chief of State to visit Guinea since independence, he was embraced by President Sekou Toure, and the two Premiers stood at attention while a band played their national anthems. Then they entered their official car and drove slowly between triumphal arches decked with green branches and garlands of bright streamers, through streets lined with cheering Guineans, many of whom had been in their places since early morning.

The Nkrumah visit was in return for that paid to Ghana by President Toure in November, when the two Premiers issued their sensational, if rather nebulous, proclamation of a Ghana-Guinea Union. This time, the two leaders planned to remain together for three weeks, and everyone wondered what new surprises might be in store.

Dr. Nkrumah remained in Conakry three days, then embarked with President Toure on a nine-day tour through the country. In between sight-seeing and speeches, they gathered their advisers for a series of political discussions, the outcome of which was a wider plan of union than the one announced in November.

Dr. Nkrumah and President Toure proposed to extend their union to any African country which wanted to join. In a joint declaration, they set forth basic principles for an association to be called the "Union of Independent African States (UIAS)."

Its purpose: to mobilize "all the progressive forces of the continent," develop the general economy, foster a "common dynamic African policy," and build up "a fraternal and prosperous African Community" which will "owe no allegiance to any power."

According to the declaration, membership of the Union will be open to all independent African states or federations adhering to its principles. The Union will have its own flag, green and gold with a black star for each member, and a motto, "Independence and Unity." However, each member "shall preserve its own individuality and structure" and the members "will decide in common what portion of sovereignty shall be surrendered to the Union." Member states or federations will have their own foreign representation, but they can entrust any other member with representation in certain countries. Individuals will hold Union citizenship as well as citizenship in the member states, and no visa would be required for travel from one state to another within the Union.

Economic Council Proposed

The policy of the Union was stated to be "based essentially on the maintenance of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations on the basis of equality and reciprocity with all the states of the world which adopt a position not contrary to African interest and compatible with African dignity and personality."

Other points of the declaration read as follows:

"The acts of States or Federations which are members of the Union shall be determined in relation to the

essential objectives, which are independence, unity, the African personality, as well as the interest of the peoples.

"They shall not act in obedience to any one group or bloc but will take account of external forces working for or against them.

"The Heads of States which are members of the Union will determine common policy on matters of defense. Each State or Federation will have its own army.

"An economic council of the Union composed of an equal number of members designated by each member State will have the task of determining the general economic policy and studying all economic and financial problems of interest to the Union as a whole or in part.

"A common Bank of Issue known as Union Bank will be set up. Its task will be to issue and back the respective currencies of the different States or Federations which are members of the Union.

"Finally, to bring all Africans closer together the Union will take the necessary measures to co-ordinate historical research, the teaching of languages and cultural activities designed to promote the harmonious development of African Civilizations.

Following issuance of the declaration, it was announced that the proposals would be submitted to the Parliaments of Ghana and Guinea, where acceptance seemed a foregone conclusion, and to other African states which are now independent as well as to new states as soon as their independence is achieved.

The declaration at one point con-

demned "every community based upon a system in which colonized territories are subject to colonizing states"—a statement viewed as an attack on the special relationships that exist between France and the 11 African states which, unlike Guinea, did not choose independence in the September referendum.

President Toure was quoted in an interview after the declaration was signed as saying his government would certainly sooner or later join the Mali Federation of Senegal and the Sudan. This was regarded by observers in Paris as a further attempt to woo these two present Community members into complete independence, and to retain the initiative from Mali leader Leopold Senghor, who favors West African federation on a longer-term basis, and Ivory Coast Prime Minister Houphouet-Boigny, whose territory lies between Guinea and Ghana and who supports continued interdependence with France.

Prime Minister Nkrumah told reporters in Conakry that the union with Guinea did not mean Ghana would leave the Commonwealth but that links between Ghana and the African community came before all else.

He said the question of Ghana remaining in the sterling area had not been settled in the discussions on creating a common bank, and he indicated that the International Monetary Fund would be asked for advice on the functioning of such a bank.

Nigeria Soothed

There was no immediate reaction to the Nkrumah-Toure declaration from neighboring Nigeria, which is scheduled to achieve independence next year and whose attitude is regarded as pivotal in the future development of African unity moves. On a visit to Nigeria's three regions earlier this year, Dr. Nkrumah acted to smooth over some of the ruffled feelings that have resulted from certain move on the part of the Ghana Government which threatened to weaken Nigerian interest in any proposal for union.

He told Nigerian audiences that "prompt, strong and effective action" had been needed in Ghana to eliminate subversion and prevent an administrative breakdown. Taking note of the criticism which arose over the deportation of a dozen Nigerians, he said he had discussed the deportations with the Nigerian Governor-General and the Federal Prime Minister and hoped to find a suitable solution. As for Ghana's severance of her connections with the West African Airways Corporation, the West African Inter-territorial Council and the West African Frontier Force, Dr. Nkrumah said he looked forward to the "reestablishment of our connections in these matters with Nigeria" after Nigeria's independence.

U.S. Aid Moves Awaited As Guinea Marks Eighth Month

UNITED STATES moves to provide assistance to Guinea were reported in the making in late May as the West African republic reached the eight month mark as an independent state.

The Washington, D. C., *Star* reported May 13 that the United States was ready to dispatch wheat and rice to Conakry to meet a grain shortage there, and was planning to send two or three specialists to study the country's economic needs. The *Star* said an expert from the American Embassy in Liberia had already made a survey of Guinea's agricultural needs.

A State Department spokesman described the *Star* account as "premature" but indicated that an announcement of aid measures was "hoped for" momentarily.

American assistance moves are of special interest in view of the official attitude which has been adopted by the U.S. toward Guinea since the territory voted for independence in the September 28 De Gaulle referendum. No concrete American economic assistance has been offered to Guinea until now. American diplomatic recognition came on November 1, more than a month after the referendum, and a makeshift embassy was opened February 10. Even today it is staffed only by a Charge and one assistant, while Russia and several other Eastern bloc nations have sent ambassadors and sizeable missions. Also, although President Eisenhower extended an invitation to President Toure in February to visit the United States this fall, apparently it was not intended that it be an official State visit.

Relations between the two countries appeared more confused in late March when two shiploads of "gifts" from the Communist bloc, including some military hardware, arrived in Conakry. After the *New York Times* reported April 3 that "United States officials are concerned about growing Communist influence in Guinea," President Toure revealed that he had asked the United States for arms back in December, using President Tubman of Liberia as a go-between. The United States made no move on the basis of this indirect appeal.

Eyewitness accounts by visitors have tended to confirm President Toure's claims that departing Frenchmen stripped Guinea of vital arms and equipment when they pulled out after the referendum. One American professor who was there at the time said lower echelon Army officers had burned trucks in the field rather than hand them over to the Guineans.

Thus, in the view of some American observers, to neglect Guinea's

genuine needs would be to risk provoking the type of break which occurred with Egypt's President Nasser. A possible oblique warning along this line came from President Toure himself in an interview with *New York Times* correspondent Thomas Brady, April 28: "If you insist Guinea is Communist, that settles it," M. Toure said. What he meant, Brady wrote, was that the West was pushing Guinea into the arms of the Communists. President Toure added in the interview that "there is incontestably a sort of hiatus," in Guinea-American relations, "conditioned, I think, on the side of the United States by French-American relations. . . . There is a sort of subordination of our interest, which has been particularly marked recently."

The reasons why the State Department, which last year pledged itself to "vision, dynamism and fidelity to principle" in regard to Africa, has seemed less than vigorous in its relations with Guinea, appear rather complex.

Officially, spokesmen suggest that because Guinea arrived on the scene unexpectedly, there are no congressional appropriations to support full American representation and assistance moves in the current fiscal year. Furthermore, France and Guinea signed economic accords early this year, in which Guinea reportedly agreed to go to France first in any request for technical assistance. As for the informal nature of the invitation to President Toure, it is said to have been handled this way because state visits normally take a year to prepare. However, a deeper reason appeared to lie in the fact that France has been loath to "reward" Guinea for her choice of independence. President Toure says France, rather than playing godmother to the new state, has tried to isolate it economically and politically so as to reduce the attraction of independence to the rest of French Africa. Because of the French position, the United States apparently decided to try and help patch up relations between Guinea and France rather than launch any bold move herself.

The best hope of U.S. officials is that in the end this approach will prove of more lasting service and possibly will be less disturbing to Guinea than the arrival of a large number of Communists in Conakry. However, one State Department spokesman suggested that a U.S. ambassador may be appointed fairly soon. It was felt this appointment, coupled with the aid moves, would point the way to a normalization of relations between the two countries.

NEWS ROUNDUP

KENYA'S POLITICAL IMPASSE EASED; CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS IN OFFING

The prolonged political impasse in Kenya has been eased this month by a series of co-operative gestures by the British and Kenya Governments, the African nationalists, and some of the European leaders. These were some of the major developments:

- Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd, long opposed to any full-dress talks about revision of the constitution introduced in 1956, announced he would convene a round-table conference on the colony's political development (i.e., the constitution), and promised to produce the outside constitutional expert demanded by the Africans. No date was specified but the Colonial Secretary said the conference will be held "well in advance of the Kenya general elections in 1960."

- The 14 African elected members of the Legislative Council ended their five-month boycott of the legislature on April 29, following the London announcement of forthcoming constitutional talks. The boycott was called in November to protest against the lack of any stated provisions for advancing Kenya toward self-government. Four Asian elected members who had joined the boycott in January have also returned to their seats.

- A nine-man delegation of African and Asian elected members of the Legislative Council, who flew to London in late April to press their case for broader representation, returned home favorably disposed toward the new attitude of the British Government. Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, speaking for the delegation, said that the Colonial Secretary's April 23 statement had in fact met three of the five demands the Africans came to London to put to him -- assurance that it was the British Government's intention that Kenya should develop as a self-governing nation with parliamentary institutions, convening of a constitutional conference, and the appointment of an outside expert to assist in the negotiations. "There remain only two important points we have to make," Dr. Kiano said. "We want the emergency restrictions removed and we want to get some idea of when this object of self-government is going to be achieved."

- Michael Blundell, who recently resigned as Kenya's Minister of Agriculture to take over leadership of the New Kenya Group formed by 46 members of all races in the Legislative Council who classify themselves as moderates, has outlined a non-racial approach to Kenya's future. His organization envisages the gradual evolution of democratic self-government under what will eventually be a predominantly African leadership, but with Britain retaining ultimate control for an indefinite period in order to give minority races the sense of security they have sought as a prerequisite to entrusting power to Africans.

Despite the more relaxed atmosphere, the basic issues in Kenya remain unchanged and profoundly difficult to resolve. The Africans' demands, which have been extended rather than modified in the past year, now call specifically for an African majority in the Legislative Council after the 1960 elections, half the positions in a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature, full recognition of Kenya's destiny as an African state, and a timetable prescribing rapid evolution toward this goal. The gap between the African position and even the most liberal European position thus remains very broad.

The first crucial stumbling block may be the question of the emergency regulations imposed during the Mau Mau emergency, which in effect disenfranchise most of the Kikuyu and restrict African political organization to the local level. The Africans are pressing hard to have these restrictions withdrawn in order that they may organize a nationwide mass movement. The government, as well as the Blundell group, contend that security conditions do not yet warrant any relaxation of the regulations.

ABAKO LEADERS RETURN TO CONGO

The three African leaders of the Abako movement who were taken to Belgium under somewhat mysterious circumstances in March for what was officially described as a "study tour" of the metropole have been returned to Leopoldville. Charges filed against the trio -- Joseph Kasavubu, mayor of a district of Leopoldville, and Daniel Kanza and Simon Mzeza, both administrative employees of the city -- have been dropped. They were among 300 African leaders arrested on charges of responsibility for the rioting which occurred in the Congo in January. Before leaving Brussels, the three Abako leaders issued a statement -- reportedly unsolicited -- which strongly criticized past policies of the Belgian authorities in the Congo and described the January 13 Belgian declaration as an "incomplete promise" of self-government; but the statement also expressed their "wholehearted thanks for the amiable hospitality" which they enjoyed during their visit and significantly specified that they would continue their struggle for independence "in order and in legality."

NIGERIA GEARS FOR PRE-INDEPENDENCE ELECTION

The voters have now registered and campaigning is getting in full swing for Nigeria's crucial pre-independence Federal general election set for December. Under strong pressure both from party organizations and the Federal Electoral Commission, over 9,000,000 voters had registered by the April deadline -- representing about 80 per cent of the possible voters in the Northern Region, some 75 per cent in the West, and just over 61 per cent

NEWS ROUNDUP

of the potential in the East.

The authoritative magazine West Africa offers this prediction: "It still seems unlikely that any party can win an overall majority. The Action Group, which alone is contesting seats everywhere, has been campaigning vigorously even in remote villages in the North, and is relying outside the Western Region on the support of minorities to whom it has promised new Regions if it comes to power, as well as on denunciation of the records of the two Regional governments run by its opponents, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). But its own Western Region has only 62 of Nigeria's 320 seats and the NCNC is certain to win a share of these. To win an overall majority, the Action Group would have to achieve remarkable success in the North's 174 constituencies, and add more Ibo seats in the East.. The NCNC has been campaigning vigorously in the West, and its allegations of Action Group 'dictatorship' are skilfully and persistently driven home. But in its own Region it has powerful opposition and it has abandoned the possibility of winning an overall majority...even its keenest admirers...would not expect it to win over 160 of the Northern seats... Unless the Action Group wins enough Northern seats for a majority, Nigeria will go to independence under a NCNC-NPC coalition."

BUILDING PLANNED FOR ICFTU COLLEGE

Plans have now been approved for the construction of a permanent building to house the African Trade Union College at Kampala, Uganda. The college, which opened this year, under the sponsorship of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, will handle about 40 students each term. Total cost of the new building is projected at about \$270,000.

FIRST "BANTUSTAN" CREATED

The first of eight projected "Bantustans" or Bantu homeland areas came into being officially in South Africa May 26, amidst a sharp Parliamentary controversy over the whole Bantustan concept. If the legislation setting up the other seven homeland areas is enacted, all representation of Africans in the South African Senate and House of Assembly will end.

PRESIDENT TUBMAN HAS EASY WIN

The grand total of votes accumulated by incumbent President Tubman in the May 6 Liberian elections was 182,508 as against 24 for his opponent, Dr. W. O. Davies Bright. In his election eve broadcast, President Tubman said that Liberians "believe inherently in a two-party system of government... On the other hand, when the people have approved the policies and trends of an administration...the people have always...refused to organize an opposition."

SIERRA LEONE-GUINEA ASSOCIATION URGED

The opposition leader in the Sierra Leone House of Representatives, C.B. Rogers-Wright, has advocated an "association" between Sierra Leone and Guinea. In an interview in London, the opposition leader said that he hoped for an initial association with Guinea, to be followed later by a similar tie with Ghana. He objected to Queen Elizabeth's scheduled visit to Sierra Leone at the end of the year as inopportune and unwanted by the population.

KENYA SUSPENDS PRISON OFFICIALS

The Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, announced on May 13 that the commandant and the deputy commandant of Kenya's Hola Camp, where 11 African Mau Mau prisoners died in March, have been suspended from duty. A coroner's inquest in Nairobi during early May concluded that prisoners who refused to work were beaten by guards, apparently with the consent of the commandant, Michael Sullivan.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA DETENTION BILL PASSED

The Preventive Detention Bill and other controversial security measures received final approval in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament on April 27. The new legislation gives the government broad powers to detain, for periods up to five years, persons belonging or suspected of belonging to "unlawful" organizations. It was announced that 100 Africans will be detained indefinitely under the act, including African National Congress officers J. Robert Chikerama, George Nyandoro and Paul Mashonga, who have been in custody since February.

AFRICAN "SUMMIT" MEETING PLANNED

Nine independent African states have agreed to meet this summer in a "summit" conference to discuss the problem of Algeria. The meeting, which was conceived by African delegates at the United Nations, is tentatively scheduled for Monrovia. The date will be set later, in order to avoid coinciding with any possible meeting of Western and Soviet chiefs of state.

MOZAMBIQUE EXPELS TWO PORTUGUESE

Two Portuguese have been expelled from Mozambique on charges of distributing leaflets accusing the Salazar regime of suppressing human rights. No Africans are involved in the incident.

BRITISH REJECT BUGANDA PETITION

British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd has rejected, on behalf of the Queen, a petition by the Kabaka (King) of Buganda asking that British protection in Buganda be terminated. The Colonial Secretary suggested local discussions on the development of "an individual Buganda, increasingly responsible for the conduct of its own local affairs, but integrated into Uganda as a whole." --H.K.

De Gaulle's Gamble In Tropical Africa

Community Experiment Reviewed
After Eight Months of Trial;
Two Competing Blocs Emerge

At Dakar, August 1958—ASR Photo.

By HELEN KITCHEN

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S big gamble in Africa—the acceptance of 12 former mid-African territories as autonomous member states with France in a Community “founded upon the equality and solidarity of the people composing it”—is still regarded hopefully by both Africans and Frenchmen after eight months of trial.

Although the majority of Africans probably envisage the ultimate future of the Community's components in quite a different light from that in which President De Gaulle does, there is a general optimism that the future will work itself out. It may be that the formation of the Community has only postponed an inevitable break with France, and that all De Gaulle has won is an extra few years of grace in Africa rather than the indefinite filial association for which he hopes. But even if the Community turns out to be a failure, in terms of its original French purpose, it remains a decidedly civilized and imaginative way to end a colonial empire, and a long step forward from Indochina.

Under the September 28, 1958, referendum, those overseas territories voting “yes” for the new Fifth Republic Constitution—i.e., the four territories of Equatorial Africa, Madagascar and all the states of French West Africa except Guinea,—were offered three choices of status within the new Community. These were: 1) to become overseas departments of France, 2) to retain their existing positions as semi-autonomous territories, or 3) to become autonomous member states on a basis of equality with France. (Full independence under a Commonwealth-like arrangement is suggested as a future possibility for some members of the Community in Article 88 of the new constitution, but the procedure is not spelled out in precise terms). To no one's surprise, 11 states of French West Africa and Equatorial Africa, as well as Madagascar, opted in favor of the third alternative. * This means, specifically, that each of the territories becomes fully self-governing on

national affairs, but that France retains control of certain key “community” functions. These include foreign affairs, defense, currency, common economic and financial policy, strategic raw materials policy, and, except in special cases, higher education, justice, organization of external transport, and telecommunication.

De Gaulle's Strong Role

The Community's Executive Council, composed of the Prime Ministers of all member states and the French Ministers responsible for Community Affairs, has an African majority. Whether this has any meaning depends, of course, on how it is allowed to operate. Indications, based on only two meetings thus far, are that the Council's functions will be largely advisory and that no issues will actually come to a vote; the effectiveness of the Council will presumably depend almost entirely upon the extent to which individual members can influence President De Gaulle's thinking. French members will hold the majority in the 284-member Community Senate, but this body has not yet been elected and will have, in any case, no legislative powers. The Community's High Court has been constituted, but has not yet heard a case. For all practical purposes and despite a rather elaborate machinery, Community decisions will—under present circumstances—continue to be made almost entirely by President De Gaulle.

Two Blocs Emerge

After a year of fluid and ephemeral alliances, the six territories of French West Africa have shaped themselves into two highly competitive blocs built around the two wealthiest and most developed countries in the area—the Ivory Coast, on the one hand, and Senegal, on the other. One bloc, headed by Premier Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, favors maintaining the West African states

as a set of small nations, each closely tied on an individual basis with France. The other, spearheaded by Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Premier Modibo Keita of the Soudan, seeks primary federation of the territories of former French West Africa under the flag of the newly-formed Mali Federation. Besides these two groupings, there is, of course, the Ghana-Guinea union, which has a strong attraction for many radicals now supporting Mali.

Four months ago, it looked very much as if the Mali federalists were in the ascendance. In January, four states—Soudan, Senegal, Dahomey and the Voltaic Republic—were informally committed to the new federation. This, however, was before Ivory Coast leader Houphouët-Boigny explicitly set out to undermine the ambitious new project. By a combination of rhetoric, stringpulling through the regional political party Rassemblement Démocratique Africain which he heads, and economic pressure on wavering Dahomey and the Voltaic Republic, he had succeeded, by the time the Community and Mali simultaneously came into being on April 6, in reducing the new federation to its core members, Senegal and Soudan. Meanwhile, he has regrouped Dahomey and the Voltaic Republic, together with Niger and his own Ivory Coast, into a much looser consultative and customs union. The federalists are bitter over this development but they are convinced that the tide will eventually turn in favor of federation because it is the only logical answer to the economic inequities and political aspirations of Africans in the area.

Party Realignment Underway

Toward this end, a new political party, Parti Fédéraliste Africain, was formed on March 25 in Dakar by proponents of federation from Senegal, Dahomey, Niger, the Voltaic Republic, and Soudan. Its members are drawn both from PRA and from the dissident federalist wing of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (Continued on next page)

* An exception was French Somaliland, which chose the second alternative.

DE GAULLE'S GAMBLE IN TROPICAL AFRICA

(Continued from preceding page)

(RDA). This development is seen by many observers as the beginning of a major realignment of political parties in the entire Tropical Africa area along more realistic lines.

The RDA party complex, which has long dominated political life throughout French West and Equatorial Africa, still extends into all 11 territories, but its local affiliates have been for some time deeply divided on major issues. By 1958, the movement had become a potpourri of radicals, conservatives and traditionalists—ranging all the way from the party's president, Houphouët-Boigny, to Guinea's Sékou Touré at the other end of the spectrum. (The Guinea affiliate was, of course, expelled when Touré bolted the Community last year).

Although the other major party complex in the area, the Parti du Regroupement Africain (PRA), is broadly committed to the concept of federalism, its local parties are a conglomeration of radical oppositionists expelled from RDA moderate conservatives and traditionalists. In addition to the recent departure of a splinter group to the new federalist party, the PRA affiliate in Dahomey, under Premier Sourou Migan Apithy, has broken away to form a purely local, anti-federalist party.

In Equatorial Africa, many local political parties carry the RDA or PRA label but the relationship to the parent organization is extremely vague and the federalist issue not yet important. Territorial provincialism and ethnic pulls are still stronger than political ties or ideologies, and there is an acute shortage of educated leadership to bridge the gap. The time will undoubtedly come, however, when Equatorial Africa, too, becomes attuned to the broad currents of African unity now remolding traditional party lines in West Africa.

The attitude of France toward the cleavage in African opinion between federalists and anti-federalists is officially neutral. Although Mali leaders have openly accused French authorities of helping Houphouët-Boigny undermine Mali, most of the evidence suggests that it is specifically opponents of De Gaulle's liberalism—including some Ministers of the French Government—who have undertaken direct support of such anti-federalist African leaders as Houphouët-Boigny, Premier Hamani Diori of Niger, and Premier Leon M'ba of Gaboon.

In the accompanying chart, we take a more detailed look at each of the 11 new republics in West and Equatorial Africa—the nature of their governments, their prospects for stability, their relations with their neighbors, and their emerging attitudes toward the Community.

New Republics of French Territory

Senegal

Population: 2,250,000

Capital: Dakar

Premier: Mamadou Dia

Governing Party: Parti Fédéraliste Africain

Position on Federation: Charter member of Mali Federation

Political Outlook: In the hotly-contested March 22 elections, Léopold Senghor's Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (now absorbed into the new African Federalist Party) won all 80 legislative seats. In opposition was the Parti de la Solidarité Sénégalaise, a probably ephemeral conservative party created by Moslem religious leaders to fight Sénégalaise adherence to Mali and a potentially significant leftist group. Internal stability would appear to be enhanced by this popular mandate for a flexible regime.

Soudan

Population: 3,650,000

Capital: Bamako

Premier: Modibo Keita

Governing Party: Parti Fédéraliste Africain

Position on Federation: Charter member of Mali Federation

Political Outlook: The Union Soudanaise (now absorbed into the African Federalist Party) won all seats in the legislative assembly in the March 6-8 elections, securing 76% of 703,032 votes cast. Opposed by a PRA affiliate, the Sudanese United Party. Most important political figure is Modibo Keita, Premier of both Soudan and the Mali Federation, and Secretary-General of the new inter-territorial federalist party, PFA. A reasonably stable regime, reflecting and responding to popular attitudes.

Ivory Coast

Population: 2,490,000

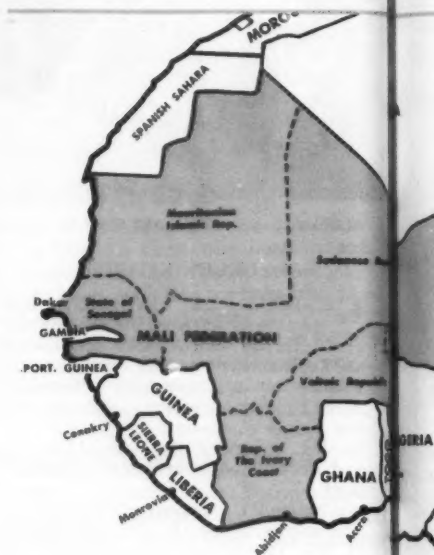
Capital: Abidjan

Premier: Felix Houphouët-Boigny

Governing Party: Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (RDA)

Position on Federation: Strongly opposed to any federation, but especially one based on Dakar

Political Outlook: There is no organized opposition to the one-man rule of Houphouët-Boigny, who has long dominated political life in this richest territory of French West Africa. He is also long-time president of the RDA political movement for all French Africa. The April 12, 1959, elections gave all assembly seats to Houphouët-Boigny stalwarts, as ex-



Community States of French West

pected. However, there have been growing signs of restiveness toward his policies, within the RDA in the Ivory Coast; this was probably a factor in his April decision to resign from the French Cabinet and return from many years of residence in Paris to take over the actual premiership for the first time.

Dahomey

Population: 1,200,000

Capital: Porto-Novo

Premier: Sourou Migan Apithy

Governing Party: All party coalition

Position on Federation: Originally indicated intention to join Mali, but Premier Apithy later led the move to withdraw.

Political Outlook: Premier Apithy and followers in spring of 1959 broke with the PRA to form a new anti-Mali Parti Republicain du Dahomey. Apithy is less concerned with the

A map of West Africa with the Republic of Cameroon highlighted in white. The map shows the following countries and regions: LIBYA to the north; NIGERIA, LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE, GUINEA, SENEGAL, MAURITANIA, MALI, NIGER, CHAD, and SUDAN surrounding Cameroon. The Gulf of Guinea is to the west, and the Atlantic Ocean is to the southwest. Major cities marked include Accra, Kano, Brazzaville, and Leopoldville. The Central African Republic is also shown to the east of Cameroon. Dashed lines indicate national borders.

of West and Equatorial Africa

issue of federalism vs. separatism than he is with finding a device to enhance Dahomey's economic prospects. Although violence broke out in Porto-Novo in April after the results of obviously gerrymandered elections were announced, a compromise has now been reached, which gives Mr. Apithy's PRD 28 seats in the new assembly, the Rassemblement Démocratique Dahoméen (a northern ally of Mr. Apithy) 22 seats, and the local section of the RDA 20 seats.

Population: 2,390,000
Capital: Niamey
Premier: Hamani Diori
Governing Party: Union pour la
 Communauté Franco-Africaine

Political Outlook: The present very conservative regime came to power in December 1958 elections in a deep

swing away from the radical government of former Prime Minister Djibo Bakary. Tribal leaders maintain a veto on all political developments in Niger. Isolated and poor, Niger is a logical candidate for federation but not under the parochial regime of Premier Diori.

Population: 3,340,000
Capital: Ouagadougou
Premier: Maurice Yameogo
Governing Party: RDA

Position on Federation: Originally indicated intention to join Mali but, under pressure from Ivory Coast, adopted a Constitution which had no provisions for federation membership.

Political Outlook: April 1959 elections gave RDA 64 seats out of 75 in the assembly, with 11 going to PRA candidates. Local party names were recently dropped in favor of the more vague RDA and PRA labels in order to avoid an election based on the federalist-separatist issue. The present government faithfully supports policies of Ivory Coast. Landlocked and with limited resources, the Voltaic Republic is also beset by deep political and ethnic cleavages which suggest continuing governmental instability.

Population: 620,000
Capital: Nouakchott
Premier: Moktar Ould Daddah
Governing Party: Parti du Regroupement Mauritanien

Political Outlook: Present government tends to resist natural ties to and strong pressure from Morocco for closer relationship, but is also not inclined to join any grouping in tropical Africa. Hopes to become bridge between north and tropical regions. However, future still unclear, since other elements favor union with Morocco.

Population: 420,000
Capital: Libreville
Premier: Leon M'ba
Governing Party: Bloc Démocratique Gabonais (RDA)

Political Outlook: Rich in manganese, iron, oil, and timber, Gaboon has as yet no inclination to join with its less-fortunate neighbors in anything more binding than a customs union.

Population: 700,000
Capital: Brazzaville
Premier: Abbe Fulbert Youlou
Governing Party: Union Démocratique de Défense des Intérêts Africains

Political Outlook: Tribally-based political divisions between Premier Youlou's Balalis and former Premier Jacques Opangault's Mbochi-centered African Socialist Movement resulted in bloody riots in February 1959. Youlou has offered a referendum to permit the Mbochi north to decide whether the republic should split into two separate states, but this has not been called. Meanwhile, leaders of the opposition party remain in custody.

Population: 1,127,000
Capital: Bangui
Premier: David Dacko
Governing Party: Mouvement d'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire (MESAN)

Position on Federation: The governing party favors a broadly-based "Latin" Federation, including non-French territories

Political Outlook: The death of Premier Barthelemy Boganda in a plane crash on March 29 left a serious void, since he was virtually unchallenged for leadership in the Central African Republic. Two minor parties, one made up of young radical Socialists and the other of MESAN dissidents, so far offer little competition to the governing party. Elections April 5 returned MESAN to power with a sweeping majority, but key is now leadership to hold its many disparate segments together. The present premier is a cousin of Boganda; his abilities are not known. Boganda's dream was to unite French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons, Angola, and the Belgian Congo into a United States of Latin Africa.

Population: 2,230,000
Capital: Fort Lamy
Premier: François Tombalbaye
Governing Party: Parti Progressiste Tchadien

Political Outlook: Ethnic and religious cleavages between the Arabized Moslem north and the Christian-animist Bantu south dominate political life in this unstable, easternmost state of equatorial Africa. There have been four governments since February 1959, two northern and two southern. Undoubtedly a future trouble spot.

ECONOMIC NOTES

PRESIDENT'S AID REQUEST

President Eisenhower has asked Congress for \$109,000,000 in foreign aid funds to be used in Africa during 1959-60. Final action on the aid appropriation is still pending. The administration's total request for foreign aid for the next fiscal year amounts to \$3,900,000,000.

GABOON BEGINS TO BOOM

American capital is now heavily involved in three separate development projects in newly-autonomous Gaboon, potentially the wealthiest of the four states of former French Equatorial Africa:

- The Bethlehem Steel Company owns 50 per cent of the shares in the Mekambo Iron Mines Company (Societe des Mines de Fer de Mekambo), founded in Libreville, Gaboon, in late April. Known deposits at Mekambo, in northern Gaboon, exceed a billion tons, and eventual output is projected at 10,000,000 metric tons of 63 per cent ore annually.

- The United States Steel Corporation is a 49 per cent shareholder and investor in COMILOG (Compagnie Miniere de l'Ogooue), a corporation formed to exploit one of the largest manganese deposits in the world on the upper reach of the Ogooue River near the border of the Congo Republic.

- The Socony Mobil Oil Company has recently completed an agreement with SPAEF (Societe Petroliere de l'Afrique Equatoriale Francaise) to invest \$45,000,000 over six years in prospecting and drilling in SPAEF concession areas of the Congo Republic and Gaboon.

RUSSIAN CARS IN AFRICA

Soviet automobiles entered the African market for the first time in May, when the four cylinder Moskvich-407 was introduced in Ethiopia as the ideal car "for running under various road and climatic conditions." Delivery price is \$2,000. There are now about 15,000 passenger cars in Ethiopia, almost all European, and predominantly Italian.

LIBERIA OK'S IRON PLAN

The Government of Liberia has approved in principle a plan for the development of the Mount Nimba iron ore deposit by the Liberian American-Swedish Minerals Company (Lamco), and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. A railroad will be built from the mine, 170 miles inland, to Buchanan, where a deep-water harbor is to be constructed. Half of the capital of the Lamco Corporation is owned by the Liberian Government, the other half

by private Liberian, Swedish, American, and Canadian investors.

ICA LOAN FOR KENYA

A Revolving Loan Fund for advancement of African agriculture in Kenya, amounting to some \$280,000, has been approved by the U.S. International Cooperation Administration. The money has been made available from an earlier Marshall Plan grant by ICA to the United Kingdom, part of which both the U.S. and British Governments agreed could be diverted to Kenya. Plans are under way for using other portions of the earlier grant for projects in Uganda, Tanganyika, Gambia, British Somaliland, Nigeria and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The new Revolving Loan Fund in Kenya is to be used to assist individual African farmers and cooperative societies in purchasing improved cattle, equipment, buildings, and other items calculated to increase productivity of the land and farmers' income. ICA has previously made a grant of over \$2,000,000 to further the aims of the Swynnerton Plan for the advancement of African agriculture in Kenya through research into specific agricultural problems, and a grant of \$280,000 in 1955 for the establishment of a Revolving Loan Fund for African traders in Kenya.

UN EXPERT IN GUINEA

A proposed program of technical assistance for Guinea is now being drawn up by a United Nations expert seconded to assist the new republic in determining its priority needs. He is Ansgar Rosenberg, a Swedish economist and former resident representative of the UN Technical Assistance Board in Indonesia. Mr. Rosenberg's mission in Guinea, expected to last six months, is the first provided for the country under the technical assistance program of the UN and related agencies.

NIGERIA OIL AGREEMENT

The Government of Nigeria has reached a 50-50 profit-sharing agreement with companies now engaged in exploring and exploiting oil in the country; the bulk of capital expenditures incurred in exploration and development are to be allowed against profits. Last year, Shell-B.P. made seven strikes in single holes, but oil has not yet been found in important commercial quantities on Nigerian soil. Nevertheless, Shell-B.P. experts believe that the outlook is now modestly promising, and are estimating that production will reach 500,000 tons a year by the end of 1959; plans for the construction of a refinery are now under serious consideration.

Ghana Hopes for U. S. Aid on Volta Project

The fate of the Volta Dam project may go a long way toward determining the future relations between Ghana and the United States, according to a recent dispatch from Accra by New York *Herald Tribune's* African correspondent, A. T. Steele.

The great hydroelectric and aluminum smelting scheme towers above everything else in the economic thinking of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and his government, Steele reports, and all hopes now center on the United States to make the dream come true.

Dr. Nkrumah reportedly is seeking a large loan—preferably from the World Bank or one of the U.S. Government lending agencies, or a combination of the two—to finance the bulk of the hydroelectric phase of the scheme. Presumably, though this is not yet certain, Ghana would finance part of the first phase from its own capital resources.

Since all of these lending agencies operate on sound business principles, Ghana's chances of obtaining a loan of this magnitude depend largely on whether some private company or consortium agrees to put up an aluminum smelter to consume the vast output of power. Without a smelter, the hydroelectric scheme would stand little chance of paying its way.

Thus far, American financial help has been limited to sharing (through ICA) the expense of the recently-completed engineering cost study by the Henry J. Kaiser Company of the hydroelectric phase of the project. The Kaiser Survey indicated that step one of the project—construction of the hydroelectric, transmission, and railroad facilities—will cost about \$180,300,000 and require some 5½ years to complete. The initial cost of the aluminum smelting plant and mining facilities is estimated at an additional \$158,800,000. Kaiser estimates do not include housing at the dam site, which could run another \$60,000,000 or more.

Ghana has now signed an agreement with Kaiser Industries for some preparatory work at the intended site of the dam, at Kosombo, some 60 miles northeast of Accra. Meanwhile, the U.S. Government, at the request of Ghana, is continuing its efforts to interest aluminum companies and other potential power users in looking into the prospects for investment. The great advantage for investors is that Ghana's power will be very cheap. The principal disadvantages are that the world aluminum market is not now very promising and that Ghana's bauxite deposits, though extensive, are not first-quality.

Hold 'Space Age' Seminar

"AFRICA'S ROLE in the Nuclear and Space Age" was the theme of an African student seminar in New York City this month—but the discussion was pretty much down to earth.

The keynote speaker, Kenya nationalist leader Tom Mboya, told the group that in this day and age "Africa must move fast" in order to catch up and compete effectively with the rest of the world. Speaking at the opening banquet of the three day seminar, held at International House under the sponsorship of the All African Student Union of the Americas, Mboya declared that the time has come "when Africa must start giving and not always receiving." He said that students must return as "leaders, technicians and public servants who will apply their knowledge to exploit the total natural and human resources of the continent and serve the needs of the people."

"Some of our people," he observed, "have fallen the victim of the inferiority complex that arises out of continuous preaching of white supremacy." These "lost ones" have no initiative, he said. "They are dead and yet alive. We want our students to come back with confidence, proud to be what they are: proud to be Africans."

Another speaker on the evening program, U.S. Representative Byron Johnson of Colorado, drew chuckles with the title of his speech: "How to Make a Successful Revolution." Referring to America's "permanent revolution," he listed four factors which he said have enabled the United States to operate longer under one constitution than any other major country. They were: 1) provision by the founding fathers of orderly constitutional machinery for effecting change, 2) provision for safeguarding human rights through the Supreme Court and the Bill of Rights, devised in



AASUA President Michael Olatunji with Mr. Mboya, Mrs. Fauset and Ambassador King.

recognition of the fact that power corrupts, 3) the pioneer heritage of the American revolutionary: his will to work, his knowledge of tools, his regard for the dignity of labor, and 4) a fundamental gamble on universal education.

Other major speakers included Mrs. Cyrtal Bird Fauset, former member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and Liberian Ambassador to the United Nations Charles T. O. King.

Dr. L. Gray Cowan of Columbia University addressed the opening plenary session on the second day. He said the United States must take pains to understand the motivations of the new African states and must have real confidence in the abilities of African leaders to work out their own policies.

Then the students got down to the business of the seminar, reading their own carefully prepared papers and engaging in intensive discussion on topics ranging from the future of kinship groupings to the possible contribution by Africa toward opening new and useful frontiers in human political and economic organization.

U.S. OPENS 40th POST

(Continued from page 2)

are now at work in Africa, compared to only about half that number in June of 1957.

In addition to maintaining its own assistance programs, the United States provides 40 per cent of the funds of the World Bank which has already loaned African states and territories more than \$400 million since its operations began. The U.S. also contributes a large proportion of the funds allocated to the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance program, which will spend about \$4 million dollars in African projects this fiscal year.

The United States Information Agency, operating in 26 cities in 13 African countries, through its films, radio and press, libraries and lectures, attempts to promote understanding of America and to counter Communist propaganda efforts, Mr. Penfield said. Since 1957 it has produced five documentary films for Africa and is periodically producing an African newsreel entitled *Today* which is seen by approximately 2,000,000 Africans. The Agency also produces a monthly newspaper in Accra, distributes over 100,000 copies in English-speaking West Africa and hopes soon to expand its distribution to the Sudan

and Ethiopia. The Voice of America sponsors a half-hour daily shortwave news and features program for Africa. Information Service reading rooms and libraries provide Africans with the opportunity to learn more about American culture and history and in four African countries USIS sponsors English lessons.

Through its visitors exchange program, the State Department has brought 567 African leaders, specialists, educators, and students to the U.S. since 1957 and sent 118 Americans, primarily teachers, to Africa. This year exchanges are being carried out with 24 independent countries and dependent areas on the African continent and a 50 per cent increase in the program is hoped for in 1960.

Mr. Penfield also pointed to the roll of private American foundations, institutions, committees and educational institutions engaged in African programs. Since 1927 the Carnegie Corporation of New York has spent over \$5 million on activities in Africa and for those relating to Africa in the U.S. and Britain. The Ford Foundation has similarly spent over \$2.5 million since 1952 on its sub-Saharan African programs—programs which are to be continued in greater magnitude.

In another dimension of American activity, Mr. Penfield noted that to-

day more than 6,500 American missionaries, representing scores of home offices, boards, and orders in the United States, are at work throughout Africa. Annual African budgets of these groups range up to more than a million dollars.

American trade interests are also on the increase, Mr. Penfield said. United States trade with Africa totals about \$1,200,000,000 annually, representing a 60 per cent increase since the end of World War II, and U.S. investment in the continent amounts to almost \$1 billion, including an increase of 55 per cent between 1953 and 1957. About 3.4 per cent of American exports go to Africa and 4.2 per cent of American imports come from there. The bulk of the exports go to the Union of South Africa but imports are from all over the continent. The largest single item imported, 30 per cent of the total, is coffee.

Secretary Penfield observed that "strategically Africa is of utmost importance in 20th century geopolitics." He added: "the African people look to the United States for assistance in achieving social, economic and political progress. They look to us for spiritual leadership and sympathy for their aspirations and they expect us to apply our historic ideals to our foreign policy. It is our objective to live up to these expectations."

AAI Awards Go To 74 Students

SEVENTY-FOUR African students have been named African-American Institute Scholars for the academic year 1959-60, in an expanded scholarship program of the African-American Institute. After careful examination of over 150 applications, the Scholarship Committee of the Board of Trustees selected the students listed below on the basis of their academic records, the usefulness of their programs, and the recommendations of their teachers.

The grants, ranging from \$200 to \$1200 and totalling more than \$42,000, are of a supplementary nature. Most of the successful applicants already had tuition scholarships from eminent colleges and universities in the United States. Applications for next year's scholarship competition will be received in the spring of 1960. Further details will be published in *Africa Special Report*.

In addition to this program the Institute has a small emergency aid fund for African students in the United States and also awards a limited number of scholarships to students in Africa for further study in the U.S.

The following is a list of the Institute Scholars for 1959-60:

ETHIOPIA

Undergraduate

Abose DAMASSA, Morgan State College, Economics

GHANA

Undergraduate

Daniel ADJORLOLO, Tuskegee Institute, Pre-Veterinary
Resumo ATTUQUAYEFIO, Lafayette College, Economics
Charles BENTIL, Bradley University*, Mech. Engin.
Catherine DAGADU (Miss), Howard University, Home Economics

Gerald HAVERS, Harvard College, Civil Engin.
Gustavus LAWSON, Central State College, Mathematics
Matei MARKWEI, Lincoln University, Philosophy & Theology

Henry NOYE-NORTEY, Ohio Wesleyan University, Science & Mathematics

Wentworth OFUATEY-KODJOE, Swarthmore College, Political Science

Graduate

Ernest BOATEN, Yale University, History
Emmanuel HYDE, Syracuse University*, Political Science
Nicholas POBBI-ASARE**, Parasitology
Paul SAMPONG**, Labor Relations

KENYA

Undergraduate

James O. KAMAU, Ohio Wesleyan University, Economics
James KARUGA, Bowling Green State University, Social Science

John Douglas KIBE, Central State College, Pre-Engin.
Samson M. KIMANI, N. E. Missouri State Teachers, Geography

Erasto MUGA, West Virginia State College, Economics
Philip G. MWANGI, Purdue University, Mech. Engin.
Frederick NJENGA, N. E. Missouri State Teachers, Science

Jedida NGAIRA (Miss), Central State College, Secretarial

Hilarius N'GWENO, Harvard College, Physics
Arthur OSANYA-NYNEQUE, Indiana University, Business Admin.

Lawrence SAGINI, Allegheny College, Social Science
Wanjohi WACIUMA, Harvard College, Physical Science

WHILE the \$42,000 committed by the Board of Trustees of the African-American Institute represents nearly double the amount so used last year, it is still far short of the growing needs. This assistance is made possible by contributions from individuals and organizations. New donors are always welcome. Those wishing to make contributions or to get additional information may write to the New York Office of the African-American Institute, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y.

Mafunga WAMBULWA, University of California (Berk.), Civil Engin.

Joseph Barrage WANJUI, Ohio Wesleyan University, Pre-Engin.

Graduate

Josphat KARANJA, Princeton University, History
George KIMANI, New York University, Mathematics
Oliver KISAKA, Northwestern University*, Pol. Science
James Kimani NYOIKE, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Economics

Nehemia OTHIENO, Teachers College, Columbia University, Education

Nicholas OTIENO, Cornell University, Plant Pathology

LIBERIA

Undergraduate

George DUNYE, La Salle College, Finance & Economics

MOZAMBIQUE

Graduate

Guilherme MABUNDA**, Biology

NIGERIA

Undergraduate

Joseph ADEKUNLE, Ohio Wesleyan University, Biology
Amako AHAGHOTU, Howard University, Chemistry
Lawrence EKPEBU, Harvard College, Government
Samuel OGBATA, Manhattan School of Printing, Printing
James OGUNDANA, Central State College, Business Admin.

Tommy OKE, Texas Southern University, Pharmacy
Ifema OKEKE (Mrs.), Simmons School of Nursing, Nursing

Victor OKWUOSA, Morgan State College, Public Admin.
Johnson SOFOLA, Howard University, Social Science
Edet UDO, Lincoln University, History

Graduate

Alexander ACHOLONU, Howard University, Zoology
Paul AKPABIO, Howard University, History
Babalola COLE, Georgetown University, Int'l. Rels.
Smart EKPO, Cornell University, Government
Zacchaeus EKWEBELEM, Howard University, Social Work

Chinaka ESIABA, Georgetown University, Zoology
Michael EZEBUKWE, Loyola University Stritch School of Medicine, Medicine

Lattee FAHM, Harvard University, Economic Devel.
Gregory OKAFOR, Purdue University*, Civil Engin.
Onuekwue OKWUMABUA (Miss), Boston University*, Drama, Playwriting

Nicholas ONYEWU, Howard University, Economics
Patrick OPARA**, Labor Relations
Samuel SOREMAKUN, University of Michigan School
of Medicine, Medicine

NORTHERN RHODESIA

Undergraduate

Skeva SOKO, Colgate University, Education

NYASALAND

Undergraduate

Emily MALIWA (Miss), Howard University, History

SIERRA LEONE

Undergraduate

Nathaniel YAVANA, Otterbein College, Biology

Graduate

James JONAH, Harvard University*, Political Science
Victor SUMNER, University of Wisconsin, History
Patricia TUCKER (Miss), University of Chicago*, Teacher Training

TANGANYIKA

Graduate

Joseph KINYAUO, Oklahoma State College, Soil Chemistry & Plant Physiology

TOGOLAND

Undergraduate

T. Koffie AMETOWO, University of Southern California, Telecommunications

Graduate

Eugene N. ADOBOLI, University of Pittsburgh*, Diplomacy

UGANDA

Undergraduate

Mario CARVALHO, Howard University, Architecture
Eunice NABENDE (Miss), Kent State University, Sociology/Home Economics

Graduate

Juanita KAGWA (Miss), Howard University School of Medicine, Medicine

Mary KAGWA (Miss), Howard University School of Dentistry, Dentistry

Henry KANYIKE, Howard University, Education

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Graduate

Brian DU TOIT, University of Oregon, Anthropology

* Admittance probable

** College undetermined

Chapman Calls for Educational Advance

Warns Central Africa of Consequences of Discrimination

The following are excerpts from a speech by the Hon. Daniel A. Chapman, Ambassador to the United States and Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations. Ambassador Chapman spoke April 23 before the U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

THE RELATIONSHIP between the right kind of education and self-government is real and decisive. To those of us who have only recently assumed the conduct of our own affairs this is a sobering realization. The importance of a literate and well-informed electorate to the efficient working of modern government is something which we on this Committee have to bear in mind in considering the problems of education in the non-self-governing territories. The raising of living standards in these territories is also dependent on the speed and universality of educational advance in these territories. Indeed, wherever we may turn it appears that the development of education is basic to the solution of the political, social and economic problems which face many dependent territories...

"Experience has shown that the rate of development in education and also in other spheres of activity can be accelerated only when responsibility for policy and planning is vested in the representative institutions of the people to whose welfare policy and planning are geared.

"It is no wonder then that in some of the dependent territories where the

provisions of the Charter of the United Nations are not conscientiously observed, the planning and execution of educational programs are specifically designed to perpetuate political and social inequalities which have been used to deny to some sections of the population adequate participation in the running of their own affairs.

"My delegation, nevertheless, welcomes the evidence of progress in the participation by the inhabitants of many of the non-self-governing territories in the ordering of their educational affairs. We congratulate those Administering Authorities who have been responsible for this progress and also the Committee on Information for its part in stimulating this progress...



AMBASSADOR CHAPMAN

"It is encouraging to discover in the reports before our Committee that increasing attention is being given to primary education in the non-self-governing territories. It is particularly gratifying to note that the ratio of children enrolled in primary schools as related to the total child population between five to fourteen years of age is as high as 61% in many of the territories. It is the hope of my delegation that this encouraging trend will continue. There are, however, many territories with a very low ratio—6% in the Gambia, 24% in Bechuanaland, 26% in Madagascar, and 8% in Sierra Leone. It is quite clear that in spite of the progress already made still greater efforts are necessary in the provision of more primary schools in many territories...

Secondary Education

"In spite of the commendable progress that has been made in some territories, it appears to my delegation that the rate of expansion of secondary education in the dependent territories is still rather slow. In only five out of fifty territories is the rate of expansion comparable to the Gold Coast's (now Ghana's) rate of expansion since 1951, when an essentially African government became responsible for education and other social and economic matters...

"The ratio of enrollment in secondary schools to enrollment in primary schools is still very low in some territories and has shown no significant improvement. The average ratio for

most of the territories is about 4% when a reasonable target should be 25%. However, in this respect, a great deal still has to be done not only by non-self-governing territories, but also by many new nations including my own country, Ghana.

"There is evidence of discrimination in education in some multi-racial territories like those of East and Central Africa... For Africans in the whole of the Central African Federation, secondary facilities appear to exist in only two institutions—the Muni Secondary School in Northern Rhodesia and the Gomoroni Secondary School in Southern Rhodesia.

"Mr. Chairman, it is quite obvious that unless these anomalies in the educational policies in these territories are removed, they are not going to make a beginning at the solution of some of the pressing problems peculiar to multi-racial societies. It seems to me that the much-vaunted concept of partnership should begin in the field of education if it is not going to remain a mere hypocritical catchword.

"Unfortunately, no assessment of the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration can be made because of the refusal of the Portuguese Government to adhere to the terms of Article 73 of the Charter. However, according to sources available to my delegation, conditions in these territories appear to be very dismal indeed. It is the view of my delegation that the General Assembly should take urgent measures to ensure the implementation of Article 73 in respect of these Portuguese territories...

Higher Education

"In the field of higher education, much more relative progress appears to have been made over the period covered by the reports available to us. During the past four years new institutions of higher education have been established in some of the non-self-governing territories. Between 1954 and 1957 seven centers of higher education were established in these territories and two more are projected in East Africa. Progress has not only been in terms of the number of institutions established but also in the increase in the enrollment of students and the extension of available facilities by the introduction of new courses and facilities. There appears to be much less segregation in the institutions of higher learning and most of the universities established in the non-self-governing territories are multi-racial...

Vocational Training

"From the reports before us it appears that difficulties continue to be experienced in many territories in persuading the youth on leaving school to enter occupations involving manual work. This is a problem which faces many colonial and former colonial countries and may stem from the type

of basic education which was developed in these territories with the emphasis on "white collar" occupations. To restore the balance somewhat a little more emphasis will have to be placed on vocational training and the rewards it gets; and new attitudes toward manual work will have to be inculcated in the youth of the territories...

Education and Discrimination

"Before I conclude, Mr. Chairman, let me refer to an intolerable situation that exists in some of the non-self-governing territories. In these territories it is maintained by those in power that self-government for the territories must be postponed until high standards have been attained in educational and other fields of advancement. In other words, self-government should come in principle and in due course, but gradually and without even the remotest conception of date, and not until the people are judged by those who rule them to have attained standards of education, comportment and amenability set by those same rulers. Some of these territories are found in East and Central Africa where, if we can bring ourselves to believe that policies are not based on outright discrimination, it is at least undeniable that education, or the lack of it, is made one of the essentials to immediate political progress. Here, for example, we may find voting rights based largely on education: whether directly through the use of formal schooling as a qualification for the vote, or indirectly through the use of social status and income as qualifications.

"It so happens that since the French Parliament two years ago introduced universal suffrage in all the French overseas territories, the only important territories where political rights are still based in this way on educational and concomitant qualifications are those which possess a so-called multi-racial population. In such territories the small community of European agricultural settlers, merchants and others are at great advantage over the indigenous majority as far as educational opportunities and qualifications are concerned. They have the advantage of access to education, whether in their home countries or in the territories themselves where there is a place for every child in the settler community and where the equipment and the teaching are superior. With this advantage of universal education of high quality, it is relatively easy for them to rise to the economic and social status from which, under the various kinds of multi-racial policies in force, political rights are supposed naturally to flow. This sort of discrimination in the political sphere based on education, Mr. Chairman, my delegation must warn, will increasingly become one of the most potent causes of unrest in these multi-racial territories."

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African Studies

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Recent Moves on Education Front:

Throughout Africa, governments are devoting new attention to the development of more intensive educational programs as a vital factor in the creation of a responsible political society. These were some of the major news developments in the field of education in recent months:

- President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia, with the approval of his legislature, has endorsed an American plan to establish a new University of West Africa in the cool highlands of the Liberian interior. The Liberian Government has already set aside 50,000 acres of land for the campus and related forestry and agricultural projects. American business interests—spearheaded by Juan Trippe, president of Pan-American World Airways—have promised that they will spend at least \$1,000,000 on preliminary work during the first three years. There will be 10 American and five Liberian trustees.

- The Ghana Government has announced that instruction in French will henceforth be compulsory in all secondary schools. This requirement, anticipated since the Ghana-Guinea Union, is seen as an important be-

ginning step toward breaking down the language barriers to unity between the French- and English-speaking areas of West Africa. Expanded language training is only one of the educational provisions in Ghana's ambitious new Five Year Plan, announced in March. A total of nearly \$80,000,000 has been earmarked for education during the five year period. The Plan calls for the creation of four new teachers' training colleges, 34 new secondary schools, and a pre-clinical and medical school at the University College of Accra.

- In South Africa, a hotly-debated university segregation bill has been approved by the House of Assembly by a vote of 100 to 55. The measure, officially called the Extension of University Education Bill, bans the at-

University, and plans to open a second in the Eastern Region within the next two years. In addition, the Nigerian College of Arts, Science, and Technology—with branches in Zaria, Ibadan, and Enugu—offers university-level technical training in a variety of fields, including engineering.

- The Kenya Technical Institute, which has increased its student enrollment from 50 students in 1956 to 160 in the current year, will have new quarters and facilities for expanded enrollment as the result of a recent British Government grant of \$180,000.

- The Ford Foundation has announced new grants totalling over \$700,000 for various educational ventures in the fields of African studies and African education. Louvanian University in the Belgian Congo will receive \$140,000 for research on Congolese development problems, including studies of business conditions, consumption, transportation, and community development. Boston University will receive \$430,000 for its African Research and Studies program, directed by Dr. William O. Brown. Of this sum, \$375,000 has been earmarked for faculty, research, and library expenses, and \$55,000 for cooperative projects with other universities. Another \$150,000 has been set aside by Ford to provide scholarships and emergency aid to North African students in Europe and to help establish a study center on North African problems in Paris.

Lag in French Africa

In the four republics of former French Equatorial Africa, there are reportedly only four Africans with university degrees out of a total population of 5,000,000, according to *Washington Post* Managing Editor Alfred Friendly.

Friendly cited these figures in one of a series of articles on the area written in the course of a recent tour of the African continent. He further reported that 90 per cent of the leaders of these four states are first-generation literates.

tendency of non-white students at South African universities after a date to be proclaimed by the Governor General. (Medical students and registrants of the correspondence courses at the University of South Africa are excluded.) Five new Bantu universities are to be created, the government has announced, to take care of African needs for higher education.

- In response to a Nigerian Federal Government request, the Carnegie Corporation has allocated \$100,000 to meet the costs of a survey of Nigerian needs in the field of higher education over the next 20 years. The survey commission, to be chaired by Sir Eric Ashby, vice-chancellor of Belfast University and Master Elect of Clare College, Cambridge, will include Nigerian, British, and American educators. The initial preparatory meeting of the commission, which is the first such Anglo-American-African educational group, was held in Nigeria during early May. Nigeria, with about 4,000 students completing secondary school annually, now has one University College at Ibadan, which issues degrees jointly with London

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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PUBLICATIONS

Africa: World's Last Frontier by John Scott (Headline Series, Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1959; 62 pages). Foreign correspondent, author, and lecturer, Mr. Scott has based his report on a recent trip to Africa.

"The New Africa" is the theme of the April issue of *The Twentieth Century* (26 Bloomsburg Way, London W.C. 2, England; 444 pages, 3 s.). Articles include "Where do Whites Fit In?", "In Search of an African Personality," "Crisis in Central Africa," and "Return to West Africa" by such authors as Lord Altrincham, Nadine Gordimer, Anthony Sampson.

The Way in Africa by George W. Carpenter (Friendship Press, New York, June 1959; 165 pages, \$2.95), a brief history and analysis of present-day problems in Africa, stresses the role of the Christian church in its development. The book will be used by the National Council of Churches of Christ for its 1959-60 study project on Africa.



KENYA leader Tom Mboya, Chairman of the All-African People's Conference, receives a warm greeting from Ghana Ambassador Daniel Chapman at a New York reception honoring Mboya during his recent tour of the United States. Looking on are Ambassador Ato Haddis Alemayehu, Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations and Guinea Ambassador Telli Boubacar Diallo. Mboya returned home from the six-week speaking tour May 17. A crowd of 3,000 reportedly turned out to welcome him at Nairobi airport. Photo by Leo Rosenthal.

Prominent Visitors Arrive from Africa

The Chief Justice of the Federation of Nigeria, *Sir Adetokunbo Ademola*, is among the prominent visitors from Africa in the United States this month. Accompanied by *Lady Ademola*, the Chief Justice is visiting courts and law schools, and members of the Bench and Bar, in order to observe judicial and legal institutions in a federal government. The eight-week visit is sponsored by the Nigerian Government.

The following are also visiting from Africa and, unless otherwise noted, are under the auspices of the International Educational Exchange Service, U.S. Department of State:

ANGOLA: *Francisco A. Maia de Loureiro*, Senior Provincial Secretary of the Province of Angola.

BELGIAN CONGO: *Max Arnold*, owner-editor, *La Presse Africaine*.

GHANA: The Honorable *John Arthur*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, traveling on government business, including official opening of Ghana Trade and Information Center, New York; *Kobina Hagan*, Senior Tutor at Wesley College; *Emmanuel V. Mamphey*, Acting Director, and *Cas-*

ly M. O. Mate, Acting Permanent Secretary, Recruitment and Training, Ghana Civil Service.

KENYA: *Mrs. Dorothy Hughes*, member of the Legislative Council, here on a private visit to observe child welfare and women's activities; *Edward Rodwell*, Kenya journalist and author, doing research on early American trade with Zanzibar.

MOZAMBIQUE: *Joaquim Ferreira de Silva*, Director of Health Service of the Province of Mozambique.

NIGERIA: *Patrick C. Agbu*, editor, *West African Pilot*; *Anthony Kirk-Greene*, former Nigerian Civil Servant, in the U.S. as a Commonwealth Fellow. Mr. Kirk-Greene spoke on Nigerian history for the joint AAI-Johns Hopkins lecture series April 21.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: *Martin Kaunda*, Senior Master, Munali School, Lusaka; *Mr. Ian Robert Menzies*, underground personnel manager of the Roan-Antelope Mines in Luan-shya, here with *Mrs. Menzies* on a Carnegie travel grant to study industrial and race relations.

NYASALAND: *J. L. Pretorius*, nominated European member of Fed-

eral Parliament and Chairman of African Affairs Board.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: *Chad Chipunza*, Member of Federal Parliament, United Federal Party.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: *Pieter Beukes*, Editor, *Die Landstem*; *Dennis V. Cowen*, Dean of Law Faculty, University of Cape Town, here on a Carnegie grant and one of the speakers at the joint AAI-Johns Hopkins lecture series.



Chief Justice Ademola

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